/257 cont./

343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuse the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[434] [681] [652] [556] [471] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

175 /274 cont./
*634 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- The al-
556 ways difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly ame-
661 liorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous /Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are
556 very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is
•434 acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it
661 cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great
[681] schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

[431] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts re-
[681] ceived at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

/274 cont./ permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata," which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar everywhere in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a solid house provided with a large reception room in order to receive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous, entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

[423] The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[621] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[432] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[426] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the